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SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM R. SAPP, OF OHIO,

AGAINST THE

OUTRAGES IN KANSAS,

AND IN FAVOR OF

FREEDOM AND FREMONT.

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DELIVERED IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, JULY 23, 1856.

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THE SLAVERY QUESTION.

The House being in Committee of the Whole—

Mr. SAPP said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: Standing here a representative in part of the great State of Ohio—the empire of that West over which the star of empire still shines to guide moving masses of emigrants—multitudes

“Like to which the populous North,
Poured never from her frozen fountains,
To cross the Rhine or Danube!”—

and hearing the cherished principles of the people of that State constantly assailed by the other side of this House, I feel constrained to enter now upon the discharge of a duty which other pressures on my time have prevented me from performing hitherto. It seems to me, sir, that every representative of the free North should speak out at this time, however briefly, in order that a moral picture of the unanimity of sentiment which beats in the northern heart may be reflected by her true representatives, and held up for exhibition to the world, that all may see and fully understand that, in no idle spirit of threats and vamping, but in all which evinces a quiet, firm, and settled purpose, the North has fully made up its mind that no more of our common territory shall have imposed upon it the blighting institution of slavery—an institution which separates parent and child on the auction block; which shuts the gates of knowledge, and which snatches from the weak all the hard-earned fruits of their toil; an institution which upholds an aristocracy founded on the humiliation of labor; an institution that has violated the compromise of 1820, by which the Territory of Kansas was consecrated to free labor forever; an institution that is the bane of our social condition, that has arrayed the South against the North, and exposed us to danger from abroad; an institution that has no sympathy with Democracy, but secures to the slaveholder political power, making one hundred slaves equal to sixty free white men; an institution that exhausts the soil, and that moistens it with blood and tears, and always

wants to spread itself over new domain; an institution that regards disunion as among the means of defense, and not always the last to be resorted to; an institution that usurped the name of Democracy and adopted none of its principles; an institution the extension of which has engaged Congress and the people for the last two years, while other matters of great interest and importance to the general welfare have been almost totally neglected; an institution, in short, against which are arrayed the sympathies of the civilized world, and the hopes of our race.

Mr. Chairman, it is useless for the Representatives from the South, and their echoes from the North, to clamor about agitation and sectionalism—to charge upon us, the representatives of freedom, the productions of the bitter fruits which grew from the seed of their own planting. It is upon them that the responsibility rests for the present deplorable condition of things in this country. No sooner had the excitement which grew from the enactment of the compromise measures of 1850 subsided, than something must be done to renew it. The President of the United States—a mere tool in the hands of the conspirators (I mean no disrespect to his high office)—in violation of his oft-repeated pledges, using all the appliances of power and patronage, repealed the solemn compact of 1820, unsolicited by the people—and launched us into a sea of trouble from which the wisest pilots in the land have not yet discovered the means of escape. But, Mr. Chairman, it teaches us an important lesson, viz: that little men are dangerous in high places! It was hoped that everything would soon be moving on quietly, “keeping step to the music of the Union,” when they, fearing it was only when a tempest raged that they could ride into power, sought for some new device to afford them the means of gratifying their grasping designs and extending the institution of slavery. Suddenly a new light burst upon them. The Missouri compromise, which had existed for thirty-four years, the consideration for which had been fully paid the South, but for which the North had real-

ized nothing; which had, by the action of the same men been indorsed by the embodiment of the principles of it in the resolutions annexing Texas to the United States, and which they had also endeavored to extend to the Pacific ocean;—this sacred measure, thus so often and so emphatically indorsed by them, presented itself to their morbid minds as the material for agitation. Unconstitutional it was immediately proclaimed by the Little Giant from Illinois, who, with his eye upon the Presidency, cared not what consequences were involved in manufacturing notoriety which would give him claims to the support of the South. His unholy ambition thus made him the tool of that section to introduce slavery into this Territory, consecrated by that compromise to freedom, and brought forth the measure which destroyed that time-honored olive branch. And how was it passed, sir? In the Senate, where slavery holds the iron rod over the heads of its menials, it passed not without earnest and bitter remonstrance, but at least in conformity with strict parliamentary order. In this body, all rules of order were violated by a northern doughface who sat in that chair presiding over the Committee of the Whole, and who coolly made decisions to hasten the consummation of the iniquity. And, sir, this measure passed. The Missouri compromise was murdered at the hour of midnight. The guns of the pro-slaveryites rejoiced at the foul work, and boomed forth from this capital their peals, which, resounding in the North, told its people that slavery had again triumphed. Campbell tells us that "Freedom shrieked when Kosciusko fell." So, sir, did freedom shriek when the Kansas Nebraska iniquity was passed, and the cry went forth that more free territory had been prostituted to slavery. And yet, Mr. Chairman, the men who committed this outrage clamor about agitation! I told them, with my humble voice, when they were marching their forces to destroy the Missouri compromise, what the result would be. It was not necessary to be a prophet, or a son of a prophet, to foresee what was coming. How truthfully have the general anticipations been realized! Charge us with agitation, sir! The people will hold your misnamed Democratic party responsible for it. When they elevated your nominee, Franklin Pierce, to the Presidency, the condition of the bond that secured his election was, that there should be no more agitation. Everything then was in a happy condition. The waters, which for some years had been ruffled by the storm of strife and excitement, had nearly been allayed, and it seemed as if the heyday of our national existence was fast approaching. Franklin Pierce was inaugurated. He immediately began setting his wires for the succession. Political trickery was substituted for exalted statesmanship. A kitchen cabinet, constituting a power behind the throne greater than the throne itself, was established. With a view to divert attention from domestic misrule, foreign wars were lightly threatened. Weak nations were bullied. Greytown was destroyed. All the little tricks which the genius of the mere politician could devise, were concocted to promote the chances of the

Executive for reelection. When the pinch came, in the issue with foreign nations, the white feather was shown. The Nebraska iniquity was concocted with the very assent and connivance of the Administration. Franklin Pierce bent the pliant hinges of his knee to the slave power, that thrift might follow fawning. The bill having passed and received his signature, it was still necessary to consummate the iniquity. Freedom's voice must be stifled in the selection of officers of the new Territory. It was found that they had been mistaken in Reeder and others of the appointees; they would not become in all respects the suppliant tools of slavery. Pretexts for their removal were hatched up and carried out. Pro-slaveryites were appointed to succeed them. Armed Missourians controlled the ballot-boxes in the Territory. The President winks at it, to please the South. He sends in a pro-slavery annual message to Congress before this House was organized to receive it, for no other purpose than to produce an effect upon some elections for delegates to the Cincinnati Convention, in certain southern States in which elections were just then about being held. Shortly after sends in another message to tickle the South, libeling the anti-slavery settlers in Kansas. He sends the military forces of the Government to Kansas to prevent the free exercise of sovereignty on the part of the free-State men of Kansas, and to enforce the execution of the so-called laws of Kansas, making every man kneel to the behests of slavery. Arrests for treason free-State men of Kansas who had done no more than initiate a State organization, to be put into operation when the State should be admitted, recognizing freedom. Permits the corrupt judges of the United States courts in Kansas to remain in office, who smile at the murder of anti-slavery residents, and who oppress, by the power of the courts, every son of freedom on that soil. Fathers are murdered, and their children and wives left orphans and widows. The soil of the Territory is drenched with blood thus ruthlessly shed. The bones of the victims lie bleaching on the plains, as an evidence of how men engaged in a peaceful battle for freedom are made victims to the insatiable appetites of the propagandists of slavery. The advocates of freedom are murdered for the exercise of the right of speech. The freedom of the press, guarantied by the Constitution, is subverted, and the contents of the printing offices thrown by ruthless mobs into the rivers; its conductors rode on rails; ministers of the Gospel tarred and feathered; lawyers, and other professional men of the free-State party, forced to flee the Territory for their lives. An officer of the Kansas committee, clothed with the dignity of this House, arrested, and only given up at the pleasure of the pro-slavery partisans. Armed bodies of Missouri invaders preventing the peaceful settlement of free-State emigrants on the lands. Test oaths, requiring obedience to unconstitutional laws, and forcing men to perjure their consciences, prescribed as necessary to entitle them to vote. Free-State men forced to yield up their arms, so necessary for their protection against all the perils incident to a home in a new country. The citi-

zens of a neighboring State controlling affairs in Kansas, and arresting such of the free-State men as they choose on their going into or leaving the Territory. And, finally, robbing the mails, and violating private correspondence. It is for these crimes that we arraign Franklin Pierce, and his accessories before and after the facts, before that august tribunal which holds its sittings in November, and from which there is, happily, no appeal. We shall prove these crimes against you; judgment will be pronounced, and execution will follow. From this position you need not hope to escape. Your graves will be yet dug before the breath leaves your bodies.

Mr. Chairman, the South is continually commanding us not to agitate. It makes slave State after slave State, and when the North protests, it cries out, "Do not agitate!" It made, by a single act, over sixty-eight thousand square miles (Florida) of slave territory a State. At another, it made three hundred and twenty-five thousand square miles (Texas) of slave territory a State. The North murmurs; again the South cries, "Do not agitate!" Again and again has the North yielded. At last, gaining assurance from the frequent concessions of the North, the Missouri compromise is blotted out. The North protests solemnly and earnestly. The South again cries out, "Do not agitate!" The blood of our brethren cries to us from the ground; still the South cries, "Do not agitate!" I tell you, Mr. Chairman, the time for silence and submission has passed by. "Are we to lie supinely on our backs, and hug the delusive phantom of hope until our enemies (the slave power) shall have bound us hand and foot?" No, sir, we will agitate, and not only agitate, but act, until Kansas is free, and until the Missouri compromise is in fact or in effect restored. You cannot put us to sleep that you may rob us of our rights. The time when it were possible to do it has passed by. Mr. Chairman, let us see what has been the effect of the repeal of the Missouri compromise. I have already stated it in general terms: let us come to the facts in detail. The Kansas and Nebraska bill passed. Immediately, that Territory, which had up to that time been as placid as the ocean in a calm, became as turbulent as the waters when agitated by a mighty storm. The people were to meet peacefully at the polls, and by that mighty instrument—the ballot—the purity and integrity of which were the only shield to protect them—elect their local Legislature, and such other officers as were left to their choice by the organic law. The election takes place. Was it a fair contest between conflicting opinions? Did the *bona fide* voters alone exercise suffrage in that Territory? A few extracts from the report of the select committee, on the part of this House, which went to Kansas, will be sufficient in itself to answer that question, which I herewith submit:

"In October, A. D. 1854, Governor A. H. Reeder and the other officers appointed by the President arrived in the Territory. Settlers from all parts of the country were moving in great numbers, making their claims and building their cabins. About the same time, and before any election was or could be held in the Territory, a secret political society was formed in the State of Missouri, (1.) It was known by different names, such as 'Social Band,' 'Friends' Society,'

'Blue Lodge,' 'The Sons of the South.' Its members were bound together by secret oaths, and they had passwords, signs, and grips, by which they were known to each other. Penalties were imposed for violating the rules and secrets of the order. Written minutes were kept of the proceedings of the lodges, and the different lodges were connected together by an effective organization. It embraced great numbers of the citizens of Missouri, and was extended into other slave States and into the Territory. Its avowed purpose was not only to extend slavery into Kansas, but also into other territory of the United States, and to form a union of all the friends of that institution. Its plan of operating was to organize and send men to vote at the elections in the Territory, to collect money to pay their expenses, and if necessary to protect them in voting. It also proposed to induce pro-slavery men to emigrate into the Territory, to aid and sustain them while there, and to elect none to office but those friendly to their views. This dangerous society was controlled by men who avowed their purpose to extend slavery into the Territory at all hazards, and was altogether the most effective instrument in organizing the subsequent armed invasions and forays. In its lodges in Missouri the affairs of Kansas were discussed, the force necessary to control the election was divided into bands, and leaders selected, means were collected, and signs and badges were agreed upon. While the great body of the actual settlers of the Territory were relying upon the rights secured to them by the organic law, and had formed no organization or combination whatever, even of a party character, this conspiracy against their rights was gathering strength in a neighboring State, and would have been sufficient at their first election to have overpowered them, if they had been united to a man.

"Your committee had great difficulty in eliciting the proof of the details in regard to this secret society. One witness, member of the Legislative Council, refused to answer questions in reference to it, (2.) Another declined to answer fully, because to do so would result to his injury. (3.) Others could or would only answer as to the general purposes of the society, but sufficient is disclosed in the testimony to show the influence it had in controlling the elections in the Territory."

"The testimony clearly shows, that before the proposition to repeal the Missouri compromise was introduced into Congress, the people of Western Missouri appeared indifferent to the prohibition of slavery into the Territory, and neither asked nor desired its repeal."

"ELECTION OF THE LEGISLATURE."

"*First District—March 30, 1855.—Lawrence.* The company of persons who marched into this district collected in Ray, Howard, Carroll, Boone, La Fayette, Randolph, Saline, and Cass counties, in the State of Missouri."

"The evening before, and the morning of the day of election, about one thousand men from the above counties arrived at Lawrence, and camped in a ravine a short distance from town, near the place of voting."

"They were armed with guns, rifles, pistols, and howie-knives, and had tents, music and flags with them. (21.) They brought with them two pieces of artillery, (24.) loaded with musket balls, (25.)"

"The evening before the election, while in camp, the Missourians were called together at the tent of Captain Claiborne F. Jackson, and speeches were made to them by Colonel Young and others, calling for volunteers to go to other districts where there were not Missourians enough to control the election, and there were more at Lawrence than were needed there. (27.) Many volunteered to go; and the morning of the election several companies, from one hundred and fifty to two hundred men each, went off to Tecumseh, Hickory Point, Bloomington, and other places (28.)"

"Before the voting had commenced, the Missourians said, if the judges appointed by the Governor did not receive their votes, they would choose other judges. (47.) Some of them voted several times, changing their hats or coats, and coming up to the window again."

"The whole number of names appearing upon the poll lists is 1,034. After full examination, we are satisfied that not over two hundred and thirty two of these were legal voters, and eight hundred and two were non resident and illegal voters. This district is strongly in favor of making Kansas a free State, and there is no doubt that the free State candidates for the Legislature would have been elected by large majorities, if none but the actual settlers had voted."

"*Second District—Bloomington.*—On the morning of election, the judges appointed by the Governor appeared and opened the polls. The Missourians began to come in early on the morning, some five hundred or six hundred of them, in wagons and carriages, and on horse-back, under the lead of Samuel J. Jones, then post-master at Westport, Missouri, Claiborne F. Jackson, and Mr. Steely, of Independence, Missouri. They were armed with double-barreled guns, rifles, bowie-knives, and pistols, and had flags hoisted. (66.)"

"In pursuance of Jackson's request, they tied white tape or ribbons in their buttonholes, so as to distinguish them from the 'Abolitionists,' (73.) They again demanded that the judges should resign, and upon their refusing to do so, smashed in the window, sash and all, and presented their pistols and guns to them, threatening to shoot them. (74.) Some one on the outside cried out to them not to shoot, as there were pro-slavery men in the room with the judges. (75.) They then put a pry under the corner of the house, which was a log house, and lifted it up a few inches, and let it fall again. (76.) But desisted upon being told there were pro-slavery men in the house. During this time the crowd repeatedly demanded to be allowed to vote without being sworn, and Mr. Ellison, one of the judges, expressed himself willing, but the other two judges refused. (77.) Thereupon a body of men, headed by Sheriff Jones, rushed into the judges' room with cocked pistols and drawn bowie knives in their hands, and approached Burson and Ramsay. (78.) Jones pulled out his watch and said he would give them five minutes to resign in, or die. (79.) And the five minutes had expired, and the judges *did not* resign, Jones said he would give them another minute, and no more. (81.) Ellison told his associates that if they did not resign, there would be one hundred shots fired into the room in less than fifteen minutes. (81.) and then snatching up the ballot box ran out into the crowd, holding up the ballot box and hurrying for Missouri. (82.) About this time Burson and Ramsay were called out by their friends, and not suffered to return. (83.) They then chose two new judges, and proceeded with the election. (92.)

"They also threatened to kill the judges if they did not receive their votes without swearing them, or else resign. (92.) They said no man should vote who would submit to be sworn—that they would kill any one who would offer to do so—'shoot him,' 'cut his guts out,' &c. (93.) They said no man should vote this day unless he voted an open ticket, and was 'all right on the goose.' (94.)

"The citizens of the Territory were not armed, except those who took part in the mob. (104.) and a large portion of them did not vote. (105.) Three hundred and forty one votes were polled there that day, of which but some thirty were citizens. (106.)"

"We are satisfied from the testimony that, had the actual settlers alone voted, the free-State candidates would have been elected by a handsome majority."

"*Third District—Tecumseh.*—On the 28th of March, persons from Clay, Jackson, and Howard counties, Missouri, began to come into Tecumseh, in wagons, carriages, and on horse-back, armed with guns, bowie knives, and revolvers, and with threats; and encamped close by the town, and continued camping until the day of election. (110.) The night before the election two hundred men were sent for from the camp of Missourians at Lawrence. (111.) On the morning of the election, before the polls were opened, some three or four hundred Missourians and others were collected in the yard about the house of Thomas Stinson, where the election was to be held, armed with bowie knives, revolvers, and clubs. (112.) They said they came to vote, and whip the damned Yankees, and would vote without being sworn. (113.)"

"The judges could not agree concerning the oath to be taken by themselves, and the oath to be administered to the voters. Mr. Burgess desiring to administer the oath prescribed by the Governor, and the other two judges opposing it. (115.) During this discussion between the judges, which lasted some time, the crowd outside became excited and noisy, thrumming and cursing Mr. Burgess, the free-State judge. (115.) Persons were sent at different times by the crowd outside into the room where the judges were, with threatening messages, especially against Mr. Burgess, and at last ten minutes were given them to organize in, or leave; and at the time passed, persons outside would call out the number of minutes left, with threats against Burgess if he did not agree to organize. (118.) At the end of that time, the judge, not being able to organize, left the room, and the crowd proceeded to elect nine judges, and carry on the

election. (119.) The free-State men generally left the ground without voting, stating that there was no use in their voting there."

"A large majority, four to one, of the actual settlers of that district were free-State men. (121.) and there cannot be the least doubt that if none but the actual settlers of the district had voted at that election, the free-State candidate would have been elected. The number of legal votes in the district, according to the census returns, was one hundred and one. The total number of votes cast was three hundred and seventy-two, and of these but thirty-two are on the returns; and, from the testimony and records, we are satisfied that not over forty legal votes were cast at that election. A body of armed Missourians came into the district previous to the election, and encamped there. (125.) Before the time arrived for opening the polls, the Missourians went to another than the town appointed for the election; and one of the judges appointed by the Governor, and two chosen by the Missourians, proceeded to open the polls and carry on the election. (125.) The Missourians said none but pro-slavery men should vote, and threatened to shoot any free-State man who should come up to vote. (127.)"

"*Fourth District.*—The free-State men, finding the polls under the control of non-residents, refused to, and did not, vote. (130.) They constituted a decided majority of the actual settlers. (131.) A petition, signed by a majority of the residents of the district, was sent to the Governor. (132.) The whole number of legal voters in this district, according to the census returns, was forty-seven; the number of votes cast was eighty, of whom but fifteen were residents; the number of residents whose names are on the census rolls, who did not vote, was thirty-two."

"*Fifth District.*—For some days prior to the election, companies of men were organized in Jackson, Cass, and Clay counties, Missouri, for the purpose of coming to the Territory and voting in this fifth district. (137.) The day previous to the election, some four hundred or five hundred Missourians, armed with guns, pistols, and knives, came into the Territory and camped, some at Bull Creek, and others at Potawatamie Creek. (137.) Their camps were about sixteen miles apart. On the evening before the election, Judge Hamilton, of the Cass county court, Missouri, came from the Potawatamie Creek camp to Bull Creek for sixty more Missourians, as they had not enough there to render the election certain, and about that number went down there with him. (135.) On the evening before the election, Dr. B. C. Westfall was elected to act as one of the judges of election in the Bull Creek precinct, in place of one of the judges appointed by the Governor, who, it was said, would not be there the next day. (136.) Mr. Westfall was at that time a citizen of Jackson county, Missouri. (137.) On the morning of the election, the polls for Bull Creek precinct were opened, and, without swearing the voters, they proceeded to receive the votes of all who offered to vote. For the sake of appearance, would get some one to come to the window and offer to vote, and when asked to be sworn he would pretend to grow angry at the judges, and would go away, and his name would be put down as having offered to vote, but 'rejected, refusing to be sworn.' This arrangement was made previously, and perfectly understood by the judges. (138.) But few of the residents of the district were present at the election, and only thirteen voted. (139.) The number of votes cast in the precinct was three hundred and ninety three."

"One Missourian voted for himself, and then voted for his little son, but ten or eleven years old. (140.) Colonel Coffey, Henry Younger, and Mr. Lykins, who were voted for and elected to the Legislature, were residents of Missouri at the time. (141.) Colonel Coffey subsequently married in the Territory. After the polls were closed the returns were made, and a man, claiming to be a magistrate, notified on them that he had sworn the judges of election before opening the polls. (142.) In the Potawatamie precinct the Missourians attended the election, and after threatening Mr. Chesnut, the only judge present appointed by the Governor, to induce him to resign, they proceeded to elect two other judges—one a Missourian and the other a resident of another precinct of that district. The polls were then opened, and all the Missourians were allowed to vote without being sworn."

"Colonel Young, a citizen of Missouri, but a candidate for and elected to the Territorial Legislature Council, was present and voted in the precinct. He claimed that all Missourians who were present on the day of election were entitled to vote. But thirty or forty of the citizens of the precinct were present, and many of them did not vote. (145.)

At the Little Sugar precinct, the election seemed to have been conducted fairly, and there a free State majority was polled, (136.) From the testimony, the whole district appears to have been largely free State, and had none but actual settlers voted, the free State candidates would have been elected by a large majority. From a careful examination of the testimony and the records, we find that from two hundred to two hundred and twenty-five legal votes were polled, out of eight hundred and eighty-eight, the total number given in the precincts of the fifth district. Of the legal votes cast, the free State candidates received one hundred and fifty-one."

"*Sixth District—Fort Scott.*—A company of citizens from Missouri, mostly from Bates county, came into this district the day before the election, some camping, and others putting up at the public house, (147.) They numbered from one hundred to two hundred, (148.) and came in wagons and on horseback, carrying their provisions and tents with them, and were generally armed with pistols. They declared their purpose to vote, and claimed the right to do so. "No one was challenged or sworn, and all voted who desired to. Out of three hundred and fifty votes cast, not over one hundred was a legal, and but sixty out of the eleven named in the census taken one month before by Mr. Barber, the candidate for the Council, voted."

"*Seventh District.*—From two to three hundred came from the State of Missouri came in wagons or on horseback to the election ground at Switzer's Creek, in the seventh district, and encamped near the polls on the day preceding the election. They were armed with pistols and other weapons, and declared their purpose to vote, in order to secure the election of pro-slavery members. "The census list shows fifty-three legal voters in the district. Two hundred and fifty-three votes were cast; of these, twenty-five were residents; seventeen of whom were in the district when the census was taken, (159.) Some of the residents present at the polls did not vote, declaring it useless. Candidates declined to run on the free State ticket, because they were unwilling to run the risk of so unequal a contest, it being known that a great many were coming from Missouri to vote, (151.) Nearly all the settlers were free-State men; and twenty-three out of the twenty-five legal votes given were cast for the only free State candidate running. Mobiler McGee, who was declared elected representative, had a claim—a saw mill and a house in the Territory—and he was there part of the time. But his legal residence is now, and was then, near Westport, in Missouri, where he owns and conducts a valuable farm, and where his family resides."

"*Eighth District.*—This was attached to the seventh district for a member of the council and a representative, and its vote was controlled by the illegal vote cast then. The census shows thirty-nine voters in it—thirty-seven votes were cast, of whom a majority voted the free State ticket."

"*Tenth District.*—This and the eighth election district formed one representative district, and was the only one to which the invasion from Missouri did not extend."

"*Eleventh District.*—Your committee were unable to procure witnesses from this district. Persons who were present at the election were duly summoned by an officer, and among them was F. J. Marshall, the member of the House from that district. On his return, the officer was arrested and detained, and persons bearing the names of some of the witnesses summoned were stopped near LeCompton, and did not appear before the committee. The returns show that, in defiance of the Governor's proclamation, the voting was *rien over*, instead of by ballot. Three hundred and twenty-eight names appear upon the poll-books, as voting; and by comparing these names with those on the census rolls, we find that but seven of the latter voted. The person voted for as representative, F. J. Marshall, was also owner of the store at Marysville, and was there sometimes, (156.) but his family lived in Weston. John Donald, on the candidate voted for for the Council, then lived in Jackson county, Missouri, (157.)

"On the day after the election, Mr. Marshall, with twenty-five or thirty men from Weston, Missouri, was on the way from Marysville to the State. Some of the party told a witness who had formerly resided at Weston, that they were up at Marysville, and carried the day for Missouri, and that they had voted about one hundred and fifty votes. Mr. Marshall paid the bill at that point for the party."

"There does not appear to have been any emigration into that district in March, 1855, after the census was taken; and judging from the best test in the power of your committee, there were but seven legal votes cast in the district, and three hundred and twenty-one illegal."

"*Thirteenth District.*—Previous to the day of election,

several hundreds of Missourians from Platte, Clay, Boone, Clinton, and Howard counties came into the district in wagons and on horseback, and camped there, (158.) They were armed with guns, revolvers, and bowie knives, and had badges of hemp in their button holes and elsewhere about their persons, (159.) They claimed to have a right to vote, from the fact that they were there on the ground, and had, or intended to make, claims in the Territory, although their families were in Missouri, (160.)

"The judges appointed by the Governor opened the polls, and some persons offered to vote; and when their votes were rejected on the ground that they were not residents of the district, the crowd threatened to tear the house down if the judges did not leave, (161.) The judges then withdrew, taking the poll-books with them, (162.) The crowd then proceeded to select other persons to act as judges, and the election went on, (163.)"

"But few of the residents were present and voted, (165.) and the free State men, as a general thing, did not vote (166.)" "The number of legal voters in this district was ninety-six, of whom a majority were free State men. Of these—voted. The total number of votes cast was two hundred and sixty-nine."

"*Fourteenth district—Bury Oak precinct.*—Several hundred Missourians from Buchanan, Platte, and Andrew counties, including a great many of the prominent citizens of St. Joseph, came into this precinct the day before, and on the day of election, in wagons, and on horse, and encamped there, (171.) Arrangements were made for them to cross the ferry at St. Joseph free of expense to themselves, (172.) They were armed with bowie knives and pistols, guns and rifles, (173.) On the morning of the election, the free State candidates resigned in a body, on account of the presence of the large number of armed Missourians, at which the crowd cheered and hurrahed, (174.) General B. P. Stringfellow was present, and was prominent in promoting the election of the pro-slavery ticket, as was also the Hon. Willard P. Hall, and others of the most prominent citizens of St. Joseph, Missouri, (175.) But one of the judges of election, appointed by the Governor, served on that day, and the crowd chose two others to supply the vacancies, (176.)" "The free State men generally did not vote, (182.)"

"*Doniphan precinct.*—The evening before the election, some two hundred or more Missourians from Platte, Buchanan, Saline, and Clay counties, Missouri, came into this precinct, with tents, music, wagons, and provisions, and armed with guns, rifles, pistols, and bowie knives, and encamped about two miles from the place of voting, (188.) They said they came to vote to make Kansas a slave State, and intended to return to Missouri after they had voted, (189.)

"On the morning of the election the judges appointed by the Governor would not serve, and others were appointed by the crowd, (190.) The Missourians were allowed to vote without being sworn (191)—some of them voting as many as eight or nine times; changing their hats and coats and giving in different names each time, (192.) After they had voted they returned to Missouri, (193.) The free State men generally did not vote, (194.) though constituting a majority in the precinct, (195.) Upon counting the ballots in the box and the names on the poll list, it was found that there were two many ballots, (196.) and one of the judges of election took out ballots enough to make the two numbers correspond, (197.)"

"*Wolf River Precinct.*—But few Missourians were present in this precinct, though some of them threatened one of the judges, because he refused to receive their votes; and when he resigned, another was chosen in his place who consented to receive their votes, (198.)

"Pickets were drawn up against the elections in the various precincts in the fourteenth district, but on account of threats that greater numbers of Missourians would be at a new election should it be called, and of personal violence to those who should take part in the protest, it was not presented to the Governor, (199.) Major Richardson, the pro-slavery candidate for council, threatened Dr. Cutler, the free State candidate, that if he contested the election he and his office should be put in the Missouri river, (200.)

"The number of votes in the district by the census was 331; of these, 121 voted. The testimony shows that quite a number of persons whose legal residence was in the northern county of Buchanan, Missouri, on the opposite side of the river, had claims in the Territory. Some ranged cattle, and others marked out their claim and built a cabin, and sold this incipient title where they could. They were not residents of the Territory in any just or legal sense. A number of settlers moved into the district in the month of

March. Your committee are satisfied, after a careful analysis of the records and testimony, that the number of legal votes cast did not exceed two hundred—out of seven hundred and twenty seven.

"*Fifteenth District.*—The election in this district was held in the house of a Mr. Hayes. On the day of election a crowd of from four hundred and eighty to five hundred men (201) collected around the polls, of which the great body were citizens of Missouri." * * * "The free-State men did not vote, although they believed their numbers to be equal to the pro-slavery settlers, and some claimed that they had the majority. They were deterred by threats throughout by the Missourians, before and on the day of election, from putting up candidates, and no candidates were run, for this reason: that there was a credited rumor, previously, that the Missourians would control the election. The free-State judge was threatened with expulsion from the polls, and a young man thrust a pistol into the window through which the votes were received. The whole number of votes cast was four hundred and seventeen. Of the names on the poll book but sixty-two are in the census rolls; and the testimony shows that a small portion, estimated by one witness at one quarter of the legal voters, voted. Your committee estimate the number of legal voters at eighty. One of the judges referred to certified to the Governor that the election was fairly conducted. It was not contested, because no one would take the responsibility of doing it, as it was not considered safe; and that if another election was had, the residents would fare no better.

"*Sixteenth District.*—For some time previous to the election, meetings were held, and arrangements made, in Missouri, to get up companies to come over to the Territory, and vote (205;) and the day before, and on the day of election, large bodies of Missourians from Platte, Clay, Ray, Chariton, Carroll, Clinton, and Saline counties, Missouri, came into this district, and camped there, (206.) They were armed with pistols and bowie-knives, and some with guns and rifles, (207;) and had badges of hemp in their button-holes, and elsewhere about their persons, (208.)

"On the morning of the election there were from one thousand to one thousand four hundred persons present on the ground, (209.) Previous to the election, Missourians endeavored to persuade the two free-State judges to resign by making threats of personal violence to them, (210.) one of whom resigned on the morning of election; and the

crowd chose another to fill his place, (211.) But one of the judges—the free-State judge—would take the oath prescribed by the Governor; the other two deciding that they had no right to swear any one who offered to vote, but that all on the ground were entitled to vote, (212.) The only votes refused were some Delaware Indians, some thirty Wyandot Indians being allowed to vote, (213.) The free-State men generally did not vote at that election, (219,) and no newly-arrived eastern emigrants were there, (220.)" *

* * * * "The whole number of voters in the district, according to the census returns, was three hundred and eighty-five; and, according to a very carefully-prepared list of voters—prepared for the pro-slavery candidates, and other pro-slavery men, a few days previous to the election—there were three hundred and five voters in the district, including those who had claims, but did not live on them. (222.) The whole number of votes cast was nine hundred and sixty-four; of those named in the census, one hundred and six voted. Your committee, upon careful examination, are satisfied that there were not over one hundred and fifty legal votes cast, leaving eight hundred and fourteen illegal votes."

"*Eighteenth District.*—Previous to the election, General David R. Atchison, of Platte City, Missouri, got up a company of Missourians, and passing through Weston, Missouri, (223,) went over to the Territory. He remained all night at the house of —, and then exhibited his arms, of which he had an abundance. He proceeded to the Nemahaer (eighteenth) district, (224.) On his way, he and his party attended a nominating convention in the fourteenth district, and proposed and caused to be nominated a set of candidates in opposition to the wishes of the pro-slavery residents of the district, (225.) At that convention he said that there were eleven hundred men coming over from Platte county, and if that wasn't enough they could send five thousand more; and that they came to vote, and would vote or kill every G—d d—d Abolitionist in the Territory, (226.)

"On the day of election, the Missourians under Atchison, who were encamped there, came up to the polls in the eighteenth district, taking the oath that they were residents of the district. The Missourians were all armed with pistols or bowie-knives, and said there were sixty in their company, (227.) But seventeen votes given on that day, were given by residents of the district, (228.) The whole number of votes was sixty-two."

Abstract of Census, and Returns of Election of March 30, 1855, by Election Districts.

No. of district.	Place of voting.	Pro-slavery votes.	Free-State votes.	Scattering.	Total.	Total of legal votes.	Total of illegal votes.	Census.		Council.		House.	
								No. of persons residents.	No. of voters.	No. of district.	No. of members.	No. of district.	No. of members.
1	Lawrence	781	253	-	1,034	232	802	962	369	1	2	2	3
2	Bloomington	318	12	11	341	30	316	519	199	2	1	3	2
3	Stin's, or Tecumseh	366	4	2	372	32	338	252	101	3	1	4	1
4	Dr. Chapman's	78	2	-	80	15	65	177	47	1	-	1	1
5	Bull Creek	377	9	-	386	13	380	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Potawatamie	199	65	-	264	75	191	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Big Sugar Creek	71	17	7	98	32	59	1,407	442	4	2	7	4
6	Little Sugar Creek	34	70	-	104	104	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Fort Scott	315	35	-	350	100	250	810	253	5	1	6	1
7	Isaac B. Titus	211	23	-	234	25	209	118	58	3	-	5	1
8	Council Grove	17	17	3	37	37	-	83	39	3	-	5	-
9	Pawnee	23	52	-	75	75	-	86	36	6	1	8	1
10	Big Blue	27	42	-	69	48	21	151	63	10	-	8	-
	Rock Creek	2	21	-	23	23	-	-	8	-	-	8	-
11	Marysville	328	-	-	328	7	321	36	24	9	-	9	1
12	St. Mary's	4	7	-	11	11	-	-	10	-	-	9	-
	Silver Lake	12	19	2	33	33	-	144	78	1	-	10	1
13	Hickory Point	223	6	-	239	12	230	221	96	10	-	11	-
14	Doniphan	213	39	3	346	-	-	-	7	-	-	11	-
	Wolf Creek	57	15	6	78	200	530	1,167	331	7	1	12	2
15	Burr Oak Hedges	256	2	48	306	-	-	-	8	-	-	12	2
	Hayes	412	-	5	417	30	337	373	208	9	1	13	2
16	Leavenworth	899	60	5	964	150	814	1,183	385	10	2	14	3
17	Gum Springs	43	16	-	59	59	-	150	50	1	-	-	-
18	Moonestown	48	11	-	62	17	45	99	28	7	1	-	-
Total		5,427	791	92	6,320	1,310	4,908	8,501	2,892	-	13	-	26

Abstract of Poll-Books of October 1, 1855.

Counties.	Townships.	Votes for J. W. Whitfield.	Scattering.	Total votes cast.	Number of legal votes.	No. of illegal votes.
Atchison.....	{ Grasshopper.....	7	-	-	-	-
	{ Shannon.....	131	4	219	-	-
Bourbon.....		242	-	242	50	192
Brown.....		4	-	4	1	-
Calloun.....		29	-	29	29	-
Davis.....		8	4	11	41	-
	{ Burr Oak.....	42	-	-	31	1
	{ Iowa.....	31	-	-	62	-
Doniphan.....	{ Wayne.....	66	-	-	59	4
	{ Washington.....	59	-	-	53	-
	{ Wolf River.....	53	-	251	23	63
	{ Franklin.....	83	-	-	42	-
Douglas.....	{ Lawrence.....	42	-	-	-	-
	{ Leecompton.....	101	-	332	53	50
	{ Willow Springs.....	103	-	15	15	-
Franklin.....		15	-	45	-	-
Jefferson.....		42	3	190	90	100
Johnson.....		190	-	-	-	-
	{ Alexandria.....	42	-	-	-	-
	{ Delaware.....	230	-	-	-	-
Leavenworth.....	{ Kickapoo.....	150	1	-	-	50
	{ Leavenworth.....	212	-	-	-	100
	{ Wyandot.....	246	5	895	70	150
Lykins.....		220	-	67	-	-
Lynn.....		67	-	-	-	-
Madison.....	(See Wise county.)	-	-	-	-	-
Marshall.....		171	-	171	24	147
Nemaha.....		6	-	6	6	-
Riley.....		28	-	28	28	-
Shawnee.....	{ One Hundred and Ten	23	-	-	23	-
	{ Tecumseh.....	52	-	75	52	-
Wise.....	{ Council Grove.....	14	-	14	14	-
Total.....		2,721	17	2,817	781	857

Abstract of the Election on the Adoption of the State Constitution, December 15, 1855.

Districts.	Precincts.	Constitution.		General banking law.		Exclusion of negroes and mulattoes.		Number of votes cast.
		Yes.	No.	Yes.	No.	Yes.	No.	
1	{ Lawrence.....	348	1	225	83	133	223	356
	{ Blanton.....	72	2	59	14	48	20	76
	{ Palmyra.....	11	1	9	3	12	-	12
	{ Franklin.....	48	4	31	15	48	2	53
2	{ Bloomington.....	137	-	122	11	113	15	137
	{ East Douglas.....	18	-	13	4	14	4	18
	{ Topeka.....	135	-	125	9	69	64	136
3	{ Washington.....	42	-	41	1	42	-	42
	{ Brownsville.....	24	-	22	2	22	2	24
	{ Tecumseh.....	35	-	23	11	35	-	35
4	{ Prairie City.....	72	-	39	33	69	3	72
	{ Little Osage.....	21	7	16	12	23	7	31
	{ Big Sugar.....	18	2	5	16	20	-	21
5	{ Neosho.....	12	-	6	6	12	-	12
	{ Potawatamie.....	39	3	21	19	25	18	43
	{ Little Sugar.....	42	18	33	13	42	5	60
	{ Stanton.....	32	-	1	33	32	-	37
7	{ Osawatomie.....	56	1	33	20	38	17	59
	{ Titus.....	39	5	32	7	25	15	44
	{ Juniata.....	30	-	23	6	19	19	31
	{ Ohio City.....	21	-	16	5	20	1	21
8	{ Mill Creek.....	20	-	-	20	20	-	20
	{ St. Mary's.....	14	-	-	14	14	-	14
	{ Waukau.....	19	-	17	1	7	11	19
9	{ Pawnee.....	45	-	15	29	40	5	45
	{ Grasshopper Falls.....	51	-	19	31	50	3	54
	{ Doniphan.....	22	-	5	14	21	-	22
10	{ Burr Oak.....	23	-	7	16	22	1	23
	{ Jesse Padur's.....	12	-	1	11	12	-	12
	{ Osceola.....	28	-	8	20	28	-	28
11	{ Kickapoo.....	20	-	7	13	16	4	20
	{ Pleasant Hill.....	19	-	37	6	15	1	47
	{ Indianola.....	19	-	-	18	19	-	19
13	{ Whitfield.....	7	-	3	4	6	-	7
	{ Wolf River.....	21	-	11	12	18	6	21
	{ St. Joseph's Bottom.....	15	-	4	9	14	1	15
15	{ Mount Pleasant.....	32	-	32	1	30	2	33
	{ Easton.....	71	2	53	1	71	-	73
	{ Mission.....	7	-	3	-	1	2	7
Total.....		1,731	46	1,120	564	1,287	453	1,778

Abstract of the election of A. H. Reeder, 9th October, 1855:

Dist.	Voting Place.	No. votes.	Dist.	Voting Place.	No. votes.
1—Lawrence	337	9—Payson	.....	76
1—Hanton	77	10—Big Blue	.....	77
2—Palmira	16	11—Rock Creek	.....	53
2—Bloomington	113	12—Black Vermilion	.....	14
3—Bentley	24	13—St. Mary's	.....	19
3—Brownsville	21	14—Silver Lake	.....	28
4—Topeka	131	15—Pleasant Hill	.....	43
4—Tecumseh	31	16—Falls Precinct	.....	45
5—Big Springs	35	17—Hickory Point	.....	11
5—Camp Creek	7	18—Harr Oak	.....	33
6—Willow Springs	51	19—Doniphan	.....	43
6—Hampden	33	20—Palem	.....	32
7—Neosho	16	21—Oswego	.....	32
8—Stanton	44	22—Crosby's Store	.....	30
9—Osawatomie	74	23—Jackson Crane's	.....	34
10—Pottawatomie	56	24—Leavenworth	.....	503
11—Big Sugar Creek	28	25—Waukegan	.....	38
12—Little Sugar Creek	41	26—Lawrence	.....	22
13—Scott Town	27	27—La ton	.....	63
14—Comau	20	28—Bridge Point	.....	48
15—Peculiar	12	29—Wichita	.....	7
16—Council City	62	30—Mission	.....	13
17—Wagona	23	31—Iowa Point	.....	40
18—A. J. Baker	13			
Total	2816			

“Your committee report the following facts and conclusions as established by the testimony:

“*First:* That each election in the Territory, held under the organic or alleged territorial law, has been carried by organized invasions from the State of Missouri, by which the people of the Territory have been prevented from exercising the rights secured to them by the organic law.

“*Second:* That the alleged Territorial Legislature was an illegally constituted body, and had no power to pass valid laws; and their enactments are, therefore, null and void.

“*Third:* That these alleged laws have not, as a general thing, been used to protect persons and property and to punish wrong, but for unlawful purposes.

“*Fourth:* That the election under which the sitting Delegate, John W. Whitfield, holds his seat, was not held in pursuance of any valid law, and that it should be regarded only as the expression of the choice of those resident citizens who voted for him.

“*Fifth:* That the election under which the contesting Delegate, Andrew H. Reeder, claims his seat, was not held in pursuance of law, and that it should be regarded only as the expression of the choice of the resident citizens who voted for him.

“*Sixth:* That Andrew H. Reeder received a greater number of votes of resident citizens than John W. Whitfield, for Delegate.

“*Seventh:* That in the present condition of the Territory a fair election cannot be held without a new census, a stringent and well guarded election law, the selection of impartial judges, and the presence of United States troops at every place of election.

“*Eighth:* That the various elections held by the people of the Territory preliminary to the formation of the State government, and have been as regular as the disturbed condition of the Territory would allow; and that the constitution passed by the convention, held in pursuance of said elections, embodies the will of a majority of the people.

“As it is not the province of your committee to suggest remedies for the existing troubles in the Territory of Kansas, they content themselves with the foregoing statement of facts.

“All of which is respectfully submitted.

“WM. A. HOWARD,
“JOHN SHERMAN.”

These facts, sir, derived by the high authority of this House, from witnesses under the solemnity of an oath, afford a striking commentary upon the patriotic clamor with which the country was filled by the advocates of the Kansas-Nebraska bill. They, sir, show up squatter sovereignty in its true light. They show that the unscrupulous slave power, when unrestricted by positive prohibition, will force slavery into any Territory, even though it be into the ice-bound regions of the north. They have a union in their

action which stops at nothing, legal or illegal, whether it be the enforcement of mob law, the intimidation of voters by threats, the marching of armies of outlaws from neighboring slave States to seize the ballot-box at the bayonet's point, and to place in power citizens of slave States, having no residence in the Territory. Nothing, sir, is too wicked for them to practice to enable them to plant the black flag of slavery on free territory. Gradually and carefully, under the disguise of the Constitution, they remove every barrier to their progress, no matter how sacred its standing; and at once, when they obtain possession of the outposts, they rush down with immeasurable strength upon the sons of freedom, outvote them, and obtain every advantage necessary to establish slavery. Devastation and ruin follow their footsteps. Kansas, which to-day would have been a proud free State had it been left alone, is one scene of carnage and bloodshed, presenting an appearance more like France during the days of the French Revolution, when innocent women and children were murdered to satiate the appetite of an infuriated mob. The extracts from the evidence I have read show the means which were used by the invaders to carry the election in Kansas which resulted in the choice of the first Territorial Legislature. They establish the fact that that first Legislature had no legal existence. The source from which it derived its power was corrupt. The Legislature itself was the illegitimate offspring of an illegitimate parent. How dare it, then, sit in the high places made for the people, and usurp their authority? Its acts amount to nothing, and would hold good in no court of impartial justice. The election of Mr. J. W. Whitfield, deriving its authority from such a body, is null and void.

But, Mr. Chairman, let me read you some of the laws which this Legislature assumed to make:

*Page 147:

“*Sec. 2.* Every person who may be sentenced by any court of competent jurisdiction, under any law in force within this Territory, to punishment by confinement and hard labor, shall be deemed a convict, and shall, immediately, under the charge of the keeper of such jail or public prison, or under the charge of such person as the keeper of such jail or public prison may select, be put to hard labor, as in the first section of this act specified, [to wit, on the streets, roads, public buildings, or other public works of the Territory—See, I, page 146]; and such keeper or other person, having charge of such convict, shall cause such convict, while engaged at such labor, to be securely confined by a chain six feet in length, of not less than four sixteenths nor more than three eighths of an inch links, with a round ball of iron, of not less than four nor more than six inches in diameter, attached, which chain shall be securely fastened to the ankle of such convict with a strong lock and key; and such keeper or other person having charge of such convict may, if necessary, confine such convict while so engaged at hard labor, by other chains, or other means, in his discretion, so as to keep such convict secure and prevent his escape; and when there shall be two or more convicts under the charge of such keeper, or other person, such convicts shall be fastened together by strong chains, with strong locks and keys, during the time such convicts shall be engaged in hard labor without the walls of any jail or prison.

“*Sec. 3.* Whenever any convict shall be employed at labor for any incorporated town or city, or any county, such town, city, or county, shall pay into the Territorial treasury the sum of fifty cents for each convict, for every day such convict shall be engaged at such labor; and whenever such convict shall be employed upon private farming labor, it shall be at such price each, per day, as may be agreed upon with such keeper or other person having charge of such; and the proceeds of said labor shall be collected by such keeper and put into the territorial treasury.”

Page 252:

"Sec. 27. If any slave shall commit petit larceny, or shall steal any neat cattle, sheep or hog, or be guilty of any misdemeanor, or other offense punishable under the provisions of this act by fine or imprisonment in a county jail, or by both such fine and imprisonment, he shall, instead of such punishment, be punished, if a male, by stripes on his bare back not exceeding thirty nine, or if a female, by imprisonment in a county jail not exceeding twenty one days, or by stripes not exceeding twenty one, at the discretion of the justice."

Page 282:

"Sec. 11. Every free white male citizen of the United States, and every free male Indian who is made a citizen by treaty or otherwise, and over the age of twenty one years, who shall be an inhabitant of this Territory, and of the county or district in which he offers to vote, and shall have paid a territorial tax, shall be a qualified elector for all elective officers; and all Indians who are inhabitants of this Territory, and who may have adopted the customs of the white man, and who are liable to pay taxes, shall be deemed citizens." *Provided*, That no soldier, seaman or marine in the regular Army or Navy of the United States, shall be entitled to vote, by reason of being on service thereat; *And provided further*, That no person who shall have been convicted of any violation of any provision of an act of Congress entitled, "An act respecting fugitives from justice, and persons escaping from the service of their masters," approved February 12, 1850; or of an act to amend and supplementary to said act, approved 18th September, 1850; whether such conviction were by criminal proceeding or by civil action for the recovery of any penalty prescribed by either of said acts, in any courts of the United States, or of any State or Territory, or any offense deemed infamous, shall be entitled to vote at any election, or to hold any office in this Territory; *And provided further*, That if any person offering to vote shall be challenged and required to take an oath or affirmation, to be administered by one of the judges of the election, that he will sustain the provisions of the above recited acts of Congress, and of the act entitled "An act to organize the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas," approved May 30, 1854, and shall refuse to take such oath or affirmation, the vote of such person shall be rejected.

"Sec. 12. Every person possessing the qualification of a voter, as heretofore prescribed, and who shall have resided in this Territory thirty days prior to the election at which he may offer himself as a candidate, shall be eligible as a Delegate to the House of Representatives of the United States, to either branch of the Legislative Assembly, and to all other offices in this Territory, not otherwise specially provided for; *Provided, however*, That each member of the Legislative Assembly, and every officer elected or appointed to office under the laws of this Territory, shall, in addition to the oath or affirmation specially provided to be taken by such officer, take an oath or affirmation to support the Constitution of the United States, the provision of an act entitled "An act respecting fugitives from justice and persons escaping from the service of their masters," approved February 12, 1850, and of an act to amend and supplementary to said last mentioned act approved September 18, 1850; and of an act entitled "An act to organize the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas," approved May 30, 1854."

Page 283:

"Sec. 19. Whenever any person shall offer a vote, he shall be presumed to be entitled to vote.

"Sec. 20. Whenever any person offers to vote, his vote may be challenged by one of the judges, or by any voter, and the judges of the election may examine him touching his right to vote; and if so examined, no evidence to contradict shall be received."

Page 345:

"Sec. 8. No negro or mulatto, held as a slave within this Territory, or lawfully arrested as a fugitive from service from another State or Territory, shall be discharged, nor shall his right of freedom be had under the provisions of this act."

Page 378:

"Sec. 13. No person who is conscientiously opposed to the holding of slaves, or who does not admit the right to hold slaves in this Territory, shall be a juror in any cause in which the right to hold any person in slavery is involved, nor in any case in which any injury done to, or committed by, any slave is in issue, nor in any criminal proceeding for the violation of any law enacted for the protection of slave property, and for the punishment of crime committed against the right to such property."

Page 438:

"Sec. 1. All officers elected or appointed under any existing or subsequently enacted laws of this Territory, shall take and subscribe the following oath or office: "I, _____, do solemnly swear upon the holy Evangelists of Almighty God, that I will support the Constitution of the United States, and that I will support and sustain the provisions of an act entitled, "An act to organize the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas," and the provisions of the law of the United States commonly known as the Fugitive Law, and faithfully and impartially, and to the best of my ability, demean myself in the discharge of my duties in the office of _____; so help me God."

Page 604:

"Sec. 3. If any free person, by speaking or by writing, assert or maintain that persons have not the right to hold slaves in this Territory, or shall introduce into this Territory, print, publish, write, circulate, or cause to be introduced into this Territory, written, printed, published, or circulated in this Territory, any book, paper, magazine, pamphlet, or circular, containing any denial of the right of persons to hold slaves in this Territory, such persons shall be deemed guilty of felony, and punished by imprisonment at hard labor for a term of not less than ten years.

"Sec. 4. If any person shall entice, decoy, or carry away out of this Territory any slave belonging to another, with intent to deprive the owner thereof of the services of such slave, or with intent to effect or procure the freedom of such slave, he shall be adjudged guilty of grand larceny, and, on conviction thereof, shall suffer death, or be imprisoned at hard labor for not less than ten years.

"Sec. 5. If any person shall aid or assist in enticing, decoying, or persuading, or carrying away, or sending out of this Territory any slave belonging to another, with intent to procure or effect the freedom of such slave, or with intent to deprive the owner thereof of the services of such slave, he shall be adjudged guilty of grand larceny, and, on conviction thereof, shall suffer death, or be imprisoned at hard labor for not less than ten years."

Page 605:

"Sec. 11. If any person print, write, introduce into, publish, or circulate, or cause to be brought into, printed, written, published, or circulated, or shall knowingly aid or assist in bringing into, printing, publishing, or circulating, within this Territory, any book, paper, pamphlet, magazine, handbill, or circular, containing any statements, arguments, opinions, sentiment, doctrine, advice, or innuendo, calculated to produce a dis-orderly, dangerous, or rebellious disaffection among the slaves in this Territory, or to induce such slaves to escape from the service of their masters, or to resist their authority, he shall be guilty of felony, and be punished by imprisonment and hard labor for a term not less than five years.

"Sec. 12. If any free person, by speaking or by writing, assert or maintain that persons have not the right to hold slaves in this Territory, or shall introduce into this Territory, print, publish, write, circulate, or cause to be introduced into this Territory, written, printed, published, or circulated in this Territory, any book, paper, magazine, pamphlet, or circular, containing any denial of the right of persons to hold slaves in this Territory, such persons shall be deemed guilty of felony, and punished by imprisonment at hard labor for a term of not less than two years.

"Sec. 13. No person who is conscientiously opposed to holding slaves, or who does not admit the right to hold slaves in this Territory, shall sit as a juror on the trial of any prosecution for any violation of any of the sections of this act."

Mr. Chairman, do southern gentlemen think that the people of the North will remain quiet and see their brothers and their fathers persecuted by these inhuman laws?—laws preventing the peaceful discussion of the slavery question—laws conceived in fraud, and brought and enforced in iniquity—laws that are enough to make the blood of every freeman curdle in his veins—laws disqualifying anti-slavery men from sitting on juries, compelling them to take detestable oaths before they can vote? There are the laws under which freemen of the North are mobbed, murdered, and persecuted, their property destroyed, their printing-presses thrown in the river, their houses sacked and pillaged, them-

selves arrested and shut up in prison, or guarded on the open plains by inhuman wretches.

Mr. Chairman, is there any man on this floor who possesses the political or professional hardihood to defend these laws—these pretended laws—of Kansas Territory? I should like to see that man, Mr. Chairman, with the laws of Kansas in one hand, the Constitution of the United States in the other, endeavoring to reconcile the two.

These laws, sir, are fit to have emanated from some barbarous king. They are too tyrannical, oppressive, and infamous, to mention, much less to be defended. They were made to prevent a fair trial of the issue between freedom and slavery in Kansas. They were made to drive out of, and keep away from, Kansas, free men, that slavery might have everything its own way. They, sir, assumed slavery to exist there; settled the question at once against freedom by violence and fraud. That is the object, sir. And are the sons of the North, who go to Kansas, to regard these laws, which violate one of the provisions of the Kansas bill, put on it to sugar the dose, which was—"that the true intent and meaning of the bill was not to legislate slavery into the Territory?" Are we to be told, sir, that we are traitors, because we say that these laws, unconstitutional as they are, should not be regarded? Is every system of outrage to be visited upon our friends in Kansas because they protest against these laws? I tell you, sir, that our revolutionary fathers had not half the reason for rebelling against the British Government, as have the free-State men in Kansas for rebelling against that of the slave power. In the courts they have no remedy. The courts are the willing tools of the same oppressive power. Slavery dictates the edicts of the courts. These, sir, are a part only of the series of infamies which have been used to oppress freedom, and which the people of the country will, as sure as the sun rises in the east, condemn in November next.

Mr. Chairman, it is in vain that gentlemen on the other side of the House endeavor to palliate the consequences resulting from their violation of plighted faith, by the assertion that the Missouri compromise was unconstitutional, and that by its repeal you established squatter sovereignty. It is a miserable delusion you are attempting to palm off upon the people. You stultify the intellects of the best men from the South who voted for the compromise, by making such an allegation. They were as capable of judging what was constitutional as the would-be bright, shining lights in the political horizon of the present day. If they were, then, by declaring this act unconstitutional, you fix upon their memories the stigma of violating the Constitution for the purpose of gaining temporary advantage. I, sir, will never calumniate the memories of the giant dead who represented the South in that day, by even supposing such a thing. I glory in the recollection of their brilliant statesmanship as much as any man upon this floor. Let, then, this imputation upon their integrity come from their own sons, and not from a representative of the North.

It was not because the South believed this Missouri compromise was unconstitutional, that they repealed it. No, it was because they wanted

to extend slavery. That was their object. They were willing to forget the memories of their great statesmen who voted for it; to forget the sacred obligations of the compact; to take the price which was to defray their share of the consideration; and then, before the North had received any part of her share, to violate their honor by repealing it—all for the purpose of making free territory slave soil.

Mr. Chairman, I will not argue the constitutional power to prohibit slavery in the Territories. The Constitution says that "Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States." Congress exercised this power in enacting the ordinance of 1787. The power to dispose of is the highest power known. It carries within its immense scope all minor relative powers. The extract from the Constitution which I have read, the exercise of authority under it for sixty years by the fathers of the Republic to promote freedom, is sufficient to satisfy the dullest intellect that slavery can be prohibited by Congress. But, sir, as I said before, the repeal of the Missouri compromise was not induced by the idea of its unconstitutionality. THE EXTENSION OF SLAVERY WAS THE OBJECT. It alone was the incentive.

The contest between freedom and slavery has now approached a crisis. It is useless to talk to me about having a fair fight in the Territories between the North and South, and that, in the absence of positive prohibition, the North will win. You need not tell me of the great emigrating spirit of the sons of the North, so much more active and quick in moving than those of the South. I am proud to believe that, in that energy and industry which is so necessary to induce the population of a new country to hew down mighty forests and build up proud States, the hardy sons of the North have far the advantage of the men of the South. But of what use is that energy? Where are the results to be derived from it, if it is met by the competition of the gigantic interests of slavery, an interest which has prostituted to its purposes the whole influence of the Federal Government, which controls the appointment of territorial officers, which masters the territorial courts, which can order out the military arm of the Government to protect it in the prosecution of its infamous purposes, which can march a phalanx of foreign invaders from their slave States to outvote the sons of freedom, *bona fide* residents on the soil, drive them from the polls by superior force, and which can control their movements, allowing them only to travel about with passes signed by some of them—passes such as they give to their slaves in the South? Energy and enterprise are palsied when brought into contact with an institution such as that. Positive prohibition is what is necessary. That alone will keep free territory free. Positive prohibition is what made Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Iowa free. Will you, learning from the lessons of the past, permit yourselves to be deluded with the idea, that freedom will result from non-intervention by Congress, squatter sovereignty, and the host of relative humbugs like unto those? No; the men of the North must shake off the shackles which have too long bound

them to that spirit of pandering to slavery practiced by the old parties. It is only by the triumph of the Republican party that free soil will remain free-soil. Place the administration in the hands of the friends of freedom, and the potent lever so long wielded by the South, Federal patronage to prostrate freedom, will be wrested from their hands.

Mr. Chairman, the South cannot blame the North for desiring to see new-born States free. They themselves, around their own firesides, deprecate the existence of slavery. In Kentucky, previous to the formation of their last constitution, many of the prominent candidates for the convention avowed themselves emancipationists. Their own great Clay, whose memory occupies a high place in the hearts of the American people, was an emancipationist. He thought that slavery was a curse to any Territory; and in the Senate of the United States, on this very point, he used the following emphatic language:

"I repeat it, sir, I never can, and never will, and no earthly power will make me vote, directly or indirectly, to spread slavery over the Territory where it does not exist. Never while reason has a seat in my brain!—never, while my heart sends the vital fluid through my veins—never!"

Virginia, thirty-four years ago, that ancient commonwealth, was agitated from each of its extreme boundaries to its center, on the subject of the policy of the State with reference to slavery. I speak the truth of history when I say that her most distinguished statesmen who were in the Legislature in that day were prominent and zealous advocates of emancipation. From these facts, I judge that those men of the South saw that it was slavery that retarded the progress of their commonwealths, and like men, for the benefit of future ages, they avowed themselves emancipationists. They saw that slavery was a disadvantage instead of a blessing. Why, then, gentlemen of the South, do you ask us to spread this blighting institution? Why denounce us for advocating the same views which you, in your discussions of State policy, around your own firesides, shut out from the penetration of the northern ear, honestly entertain and boldly express? We seek but to prevent Kansas from being cursed with the same infliction which you would gladly, years ago, have rid yourselves of. Therefore it is that we wish that Territory to take her rank amongst the free States of this Confederacy.

How can you, gentlemen of the South, understanding, as you well do, the ruinous effects of the institution of slavery, wish to extend the political leprosy? In Bancroft's *Miscellanies*, published by the Harpers, the blighting effect of slavery upon the Roman Empire is depicted. He says that "slavery threw the power and lands of the State into the hands of a few; it crushed the free middling classes." * * * "The code of slavery like unto that of our southern States, except that in Rome the slave could be instructed."

* * * "It prepared the way for the further debasement of Rome by introducing an extravagant luxury, and everywhere degraded public morals by violating the sanctity of marriage. Chastity amongst the young men of the upper classes became almost unknown. With the chafed bondage, terrible vices and terrible diseases set in over the whole of society. At length despotism and submission to foreign authority was the natural course to a society so rotten and dis-

cased." * * * "The land of Italy, as begins now to be seen in Virginia and other of the southern States of America, was exhausted by slavery."

* * * "The fields of the Campagna were once rich as the lands on the slopes of the Alleghanies, or in the Kentucky prairie bottoms."

* * * "But the wasteful system of cultivation by bondsmen first turned them from fertile green fields to pastures, and left them as they are now, solitary and miasmatic claims, where hardly man can dwell." "It is a calumny," says Mr. Bancroft, "to charge the devastation of Italy upon the barbarians. The large Roman plantations tilled by slaves' labor were its ruin. Slavery had effected the decline of the Roman people, and had wasted the land before a Scythian or a Scandinavian had crossed the Alps." "Slavery," continued Mr. Bancroft, "had destroyed the Democracy; had destroyed the aristocracy; had destroyed the Empire; and at last it left the traces of its ruinous power deeply furrowed on the face of nature itself."

This, gentlemen, is the experience of an empire where slavery has had its way. It is not the lesson of theory, but that of experience, speaking volumes against the institution which blighted Rome. Ye men of the South, read in this the history of your own future, unless you rid yourselves of this nuisance! Ye men of the North, read in it a lesson of warning, teaching you to let no more of our Territory be prostituted to the augmentation of an institution which but touches to destroy, and leaves the signs of its path in the ruins which follow it.

Mr. Chairman, why should the South object to the State of Kansas being free? Out of the Louisiana Territory, of which it forms a part, three slave States, (Louisiana, Missouri, and Arkansas,) embracing an area of one hundred and fifty-eight thousand five hundred and seventy-four square miles, adding six Senators to the strength of the South in the Senate, and thirteen Representatives to its strength in this House, have been made, and not one free State has been carved out of it. Is this what you call justice to the North, to purchase territory at the cost of \$23,000,000 out of the common Treasury, merely for the purpose of adding to the congressional strength of the slave power? Well, sir, what has the North gained by other purchases of territory? Florida, embracing an area of fifty-nine thousand two hundred and sixty-eight square miles, was purchased at a cost which the war and incidental expenses made \$18,430,000—and what for, sir? To make a slave State out of her; to give the South two more Senators in the Senate, and one more Representative in this House.

Again, sir, we annexed Texas, involving us in a war with Mexico, and other expenditures, amounting in the aggregate to \$273,000,000; and what, sir, has been done with that Territory, over three hundred and twenty-five thousand square miles in area? Why, sir, it has been laid at the feet of the slave power, and has given it two Senators and two Representatives.

And, Mr. Chairman, if we look, we will find out of an immense surface of new territory, costing this Government near five hundred and thirty millions of dollars, five slave States have been admitted, with a senatorial and representative strength and area as follows:

States.	Square Miles.	Senators.	Representatives.
1. Louisiana.....	41,346	2	4
2. Missouri.....	65,037	2	7
3. Arkansas.....	53,191	2	2
4. Florida.....	53,368	2	1
5. Texas.....	395,369	2	2
5 Slave States.....	543,369	10	16

And has the North got anything for all this expenditure of blood and treasure? Nominally she has, sir, but in reality nothing. She has California as a free State, but her congressional representation is always pro-slavery; so that the North has not got one iota of political strength out of all this territory. The South has gained everything—the North nothing.

Let us look at the relative strength of the two sections in Congress.

There are sixteen free States, having a white population of 13,600,000.

There are fifteen slave States, having a white population of 6,200,000.

In the Senate, the slave States have thirty Senators, only two less than the North, which has over twice as much white population.

In the House, the slave States have ninety Representatives. Supposing the white population was the basis of representation, the North ought to have, according to that ratio, one hundred and ninety-seven Representatives. Instead of that, she has but one hundred and forty-two Representatives in this body, fifty-five less than she ought to have. And how, sir, is this? Because the Constitution wrongly gives any man in the South who has one thousand slaves as much political power as six hundred white men in the North—the South being entitled to a representation for her slaves of three fifths of their number. Thus it is that, by the very organic law of the country, the North is oppressed; and because we want to use every lawful means to add to the area of freedom, and relieve ourselves of oppression, that we are called sectionalists, and everything else in the vocabulary of the slave power and the dialect of their northern doughface allies.

I have said, Mr. Chairman, that the white population of the South is about six millions two hundred thousand, and yet out of this there are but three hundred and forty-six thousand slaveholders; so that near six millions of that population do not have a direct interest in slavery. Is there any better evidence of the power of the slaveholding aristocracy? Over five millions of white population bend their knees at the Baal of slavery—ay, sir, controlled by three hundred and forty thousand slaveholders! If, sir, it can now wield that influence, what will it not do if you increase the means of exercise?

Mr. Chairman, the men from the North who oppose the onward march of slavery are designated by their opponents with all manner of names—Black Republicans, Woolly-heads, Nigger-worshippers, Abolitionists, Free-Soilers, Liberty-men, &c., &c. Sir, these designations are applied in a spirit of opprobrium. I say to those who use the terms, such designations do not offend us. If love of freedom gives title to those appellations, then I am either one of them, or all of them, as you may please to call me. And no matter what name you apply to those sons of the North who wish rather to see the constitution of each new State lighted by the rays of freedom than darkened by the curse of slavery, the spirit

of freedom will stand forth in bold relief, exhibiting an incentive for their action which will entitle them to the respect of the right-thinking men of the world.

Sir, these terms come with ill grace from those men who hold in bondage human flesh and blood—men who traffic in slaves. For myself, let me be called anything rather than a negro driver, negro trader, negro auctioneer, negro buyer, or negro seller:

“I would not have a slave to till my ground,
To carry me, to fan me when I sleep,
And tremble when I wake, for all the wealth
That sinews bought and sold have ever earned.”

Mr. Chairman, I am in favor of admitting Kansas under the Topeka constitution. I believe that peace can only be restored by admitting her with her free constitution. It is useless to say that that constitution was irregularly framed. It was an emanation from an outraged people, who, oppressed by the existing government, and subjected to the many injuries and indignities which I have enumerated, convened to frame a State government, to relieve them of their oppressions, and afford them that protection which the territorial government did not. Nor need you urge that the whole people of Kansas did not take part in initiating this new government. If they did not, it was their fault. It is sufficient for me to know that a majority of the people took part in it, and sanctioned the constitution it adopted. Nor need you tell me that Kansas has not a sufficient population. It is sufficient in accordance with the oft-repeated precedent. The population of Louisiana was but thirty-four thousand when she became a State. Indiana had but twenty-three thousand eight hundred and ninety when she was admitted; Mississippi twenty-eight thousand; Arkansas twenty-five thousand six hundred and seventy-one; Michigan thirty-one thousand; and Florida twenty-seven thousand nine hundred and forty-three. Those are the precedents. But the argument of want of population is neutralized by the action of the slave-power itself, in passing in the Senate Judge Douglas's (*alias* Mr. Toombs's) bill. This bill waives the objection to population. I consider, therefore, that objection answered. As to this bill of the Senate, conceived by Toombs, and reported by Douglas, I am opposed to it. It makes the President of the United States the arbiter of its destinies. That is enough for me. The conduct of President Pierce, already in reference to Kansas, settles the fact that the North can have no justice at his hands. I would not speak of that high officer disrespectfully, but he knows, and we know, whose hands are wet with the blood of the murdered in Kansas. Pro-slavery officials would be appointed to subvert the slave power in making the new State, and under that bill Kansas would be irretrievably lost to freedom. “Fear the Greeks when they bring you presents,” is the English of an old Latin adage, and is an appropriate application to the smooth-tongued concessions which the votaries of slavery pretend they make to freedom in that bill.

Mr. Chairman, the North has but one course to pursue in the next presidential contest, and that is to vote the Republican ticket. The Democratic platform is weighed down with its pro-slavery provisions. It indorses the administration of President Pierce, embracing all the

outrages inflicted on poor Kansas. Its candidate, Mr. Buchanan, stands flat-footed upon it, as does Mr. Breckinridge, who, besides, is a slaveholder. Elect these men, standing on that platform, and you declare for slavery and against freedom.

Mr. Chairman, the issue between the great political parties of the day is SLAVERY and FREEDOM. Each occupies equal vantage-ground; their leaders have been announced, and are in the field. The party of slavery has the flags of all the old parties. Buchanan brings the Black-cockade Federal flag. Wise, Cushing, Toombs, and Benjamin, the Whig flag. Cass and Hunter, the Democratic flag. Ex-President Van Buren and his son John, the Free-Soil flag. Senator Adams, (of Mississippi,) the Native American flag. Pierce and Douglas, the red flag of filibusterism. Atehison and Stringfellow, the black flag of slavery. With all these old flags the party assume the name of Democracy, and say that the Democratic party have swallowed all the old parties, and in reply to which I only have to say, the whale swallowed Jonah—Jonah was heard of afterwards—the whale never. It is fair to presume that the Democratic party will not be heard of after the presidential election in November next. The slave party may.

Why is it, Mr. Chairman, that the so-called Democratic party have taken upon themselves the right of calling the party of freedom Black Republicans? Is it because the principles of that party harmonize with justice and humanity, and insist upon the elevation of human labor? Is it because the party of freedom maintains the union of the States, one and inseparable, now and forever, as the highest duty of the American people, to themselves, to posterity, and mankind? Is it because the party of freedom will course this country with railroads, improve her harbors and rivers, and whiten every ocean and sea with her commerce, to promote the interest and happiness of the people of these great States, and bind them together with bonds of interest and affection? Is it because the party of freedom loves tranquillity and prosperity, and opposes the extension of slave labor, for putting it in competition with free white labor? Is it because the party of freedom desire to secure high wages for labor, which is the great agent for the prosperity and happiness of our country? Is it because the party of freedom opposed the repeal of the Missouri compromise, which purported to be a perpetual league of friendship and amity between the North and the South? Is it because the party of freedom is not ready to do the bidding of the slave power? Is it because the party of freedom is opposed to an aristocracy which consists of human bodies and souls, and feasts upon African slave labor? Is it because the party of freedom is opposed to the political power of the slaveholder in estimating one hundred slaves equal to sixty white men? Is it because the party of freedom will not sustain the cursed acts of the bogus Legislature of Kansas, which blackens the character of American legislators? It cannot be; it is to be traced to some other cause.

Then, was it because the party of freedom submitted to the compromise measure of 1850, which was a bill allowing the slaveholders of the South to command us of the North, under severe penalty, to catch their runaway slaves? This, no doubt, is the reason why the so-called Democratic party

have taken upon themselves to call us Black Republicans.

Mr. Chairman, it is only in the Republican platform that you find the true elements of a government of constitutional freedom. In the South the entirety of the people are fast uniting to make a sectional contest of the next presidential election, upon the pro-slavery candidates and pro-slavery platform of the Democratic party. Even the old-line Whigs are aiding Mr. Buchanan, forgetful of the slanders heaped upon their great leader, Mr. Clay, when he lived—slanders charging that distinguished man of having sold the vote of Kentucky to John Quincy Adams for the Presidency, for the paltry consideration of a seat in the Cabinet. This slander was originated by Mr. Buchanan—General Jackson gave him as the author of it—and yet these old-line Whigs are willing to blacken the memory of Mr. Clay by voting for his traducers! What does this unanimity amongst men in the South, forgetful of their past irreconcilable differences, foreshadow? It tells the North, in plain, unmistakable language, that the slavery interest is a unit, and to repel its meditated aggression, the North must also be united.

Mr. Chairman, NO MORE SLAVE STATES, is my motto. Let that be the motto of every votary of freedom at the North. Let Kansas rather be of the things that were, but are not, rather than blast her prospects and blacken her history by subjecting her to the purposes of slavery. Let not this demoralizing institution shut out Kansas from the settlement of the free white man. Let not the white man from the North, who emigrates with his family to Kansas, be subjected to the taunts and jests of an aristocracy which inculcates the idea that labor is only a drudgery fit to be done by slaves in obedience to the commands of the lash and the driver. I tell you, sir, if you wish to retard the progress of the mighty empire, omit to restrict slavery where the Missouri compromise justly prohibited it. Then, sir, you give slavery a strong foothold on the western frontier. Barrieking, as it will, the Territory back of it against the march of freedom, it will spread itself—ay, sir, expand, until it has a controlling dominion over the vast domain between the Mississippi and the Pacific. Experience teaches us this lesson; and I warn this Congress to look well into the matter. I warn the people to ponder well upon this subject, and to strike a decisive blow for freedom ere it becomes too late. Let slavery keep the advantage, and obtain the victory in this contest, and before long it will want virtually to introduce slavery in the free States. Already the right is claimed to hold them in our territory as long as they please, whilst pretending to be *in transitu*, how long will it be before other and more startling pretensions are set up?

It hath been said, when bad men conspire, good men should combine. Let the true freemen of the North combine to stay the march of slavery. Let Fremont, Freedom, and Dayton, be the war-cry. With such a watch word upon our banner, victory is sure to crown our efforts. Let not the men of the North be deceived. In 1854 they were told that the Kansas bill would make Nebraska and Kansas free. My own competitor for Congress, (William Dunbar, Esq.,) in his published speech accepting the Democratic nomination, used remarks which illustrate to



southern men how the Kansas bill was defended in the North. He said:

"The territories of Kansas and Nebraska being free, by the express provisions of this very bill, whenever a slaveholder *colanarily* emigrates there with his slaves, so soon as they set their feet upon the soil of those free Territories, they become as free as the air they breathe, and have as good a right to command their masters as their masters have to command them. They are free by the voluntary act of their masters; and there is no law, human or divine, to reduce them again to a state of slavery."

I am satisfied, Mr. Chairman, that my competitor believed all that he said. I have no idea that he made the declaration alluded to for effect only, and to delude the people of my district out of their votes.

Mr. Chairman, what a miserable delusion—the slaves would "have as good a right to command their masters as their masters have to command them!" Why, sir, if my honorable friend were to repeat that speech in Kansas, he would be hunted out of the Territory; he would not be allowed to vote, and would be placed in the category of Reeder, Lane, and others, and very likely he would be hung. The slaves command their masters! Why, sir, the masters not only drive the slaves in that Territory with the lash and whip, but they drive the freemen of the North out of the Territory who will not recognize their right to do so. This was what the Democratic party was preaching in the North in 1854. But they could not delude the people, sir. They determined to have no more to do with a counterfeit Pierce and Douglas, Kansas and Nebraska, Buchanan and Breckinridge Democracy. Away with it! hide its shame and its crimes forever. The Democracy can no longer deceive the people of the North with the cry of freedom, when they are planting the seeds of slavery. Too often has dissimulation been practiced upon them, for them to become again the servile supporters of a spurious Democracy.

Mr. Chairman, already the hearts of the freemen in the free States are thundering against the present occupant of the White House, and have a writ of ejectment to obtain possession of it, the present tenant not having kept his covenants. They will put in a tenant that will be true to the great cause of freedom!

The northern people are pleased with the standard bearers of the Republican party. They see in Colonel Fremont a man whose past life has been an unbroken line of meritorious service and praiseworthy distinction. In him are planted none of the insidious guiles of the professed politician. They see him coming from the humblest walks of life, shining a brilliant star in the military and scientific constellation of his country, exploring that vast area of forests, deserts, and wilds between the Mississippi and the Pacific, and marking the path where man can find his way overland to the inviting El Dorado of the West. They see him going through the most hairbreadth perils for science and his country. They see him leading a military force, and aiding in the recovery of a then foreign province to a free State. They see him then fighting his Hiberns, who, envious of his distinction, endeavor to drive him from the army. They see him proudly scornng a commission tendered to him to restore him to that service from which he had been so unjustly ejected. They see him then

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and aiding in preventing slavery from being introduced within her limits. They then see him in the Senate as one of her two first Senators, laboring assiduously to promote her interests. They then see him retired to private life, and but returning now to politics in response to the unanimous voice of the Republican party calling him forth from his retirement to take the highest place in the gift of the people. They see him a glorious apostle in the cause of freedom; and as the representative of that cause they will place him in the high position for which he has been named. As to William L. Dayton, they have only to recollect his career in the Senate—a career devoted entirely to the cause of freedom—as eloquent as the most eloquent amongst the orators of that body; an honest man, a dignified statesman, and an earnest anti-slaveryite.

But why, Mr. Chairman, should I speak of men in this contest? Like General Washington, who said, when going up to the polls for the last time in his brilliant life, "I vote for measures, not men," so do the Republicans of the country in the next contest vote for measures, not men. Men are mortal; principles are eternal. The one springeth up to-day, and is cut down to-morrow; but the great principle of freedom, for which the Republicans are fighting, is as eternal as Heaven itself. Freedom is that great element in the value of which nature maketh the boy to feel before he hath yet reached midway his road to a majority. Freedom is what infused our revolutionary fathers, and caused them to shake off the dominion of a foreign and tyrannical power. Freedom is the Archimedeian lever which has moved every popular outbreak crying for liberty, and causing kings to tremble on their thrones. It was freedom which moved the free-State men of Kansas to meet at Topeka to form a State constitution. It is that freedom for which the Republicans are now warring, and which will enable them, beating down all opposition, to march triumphantly to power and glory in our next presidential contest. Yes, with that freedom, and Fremont and Dayton emblazoned on the ample folds of our national banner, we will drive the base minions of slavery from their control of the Government, and we will use its powers to build up our new country, free from the taints of slavery, and make America worthy of being the north star of freedom, by which the eye of the exile can be guided with safety to the asylum of liberty. Let the giant heel of freedom be placed upon the neck of the serpent of slavery, and avert, by its genial and healthy influence, the miseries and injuries which would arise from the sanction of human bondage in what is now free territory. Then indeed we can appropriately say,

"Thou, too, sail on, O ship of State!
Sail on, O Union, strong and great;
Humanity, with all its fears,
With all the hope of future years,
Is hailing breathless on thy fate.
We know what masters laid thy keel,
What workmen wrought thy ribs of steel;
Who made each mast, and sail, and rope,
What anvils rang, what hammers beat,
In what a forge, and what a heat,
Were shaped the anchors of thy hope."

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